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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 154318

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE COLOMBO DACCA
ISLAMABAD HONG KONG LONDON KATHMANDU KABUL
MOSCOW PARIS PEKING CINCPAC USUN BOMBAY MADRAS
CALCUTTA FROM NEW DELHI JUN 27

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 8574

CINCPAC FOR POLAD; PARIS PASS TO US DELEGATION AID INDIA
CORSORTIUM

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINS, PINT, IN
SUBJ: INDIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

1. VIEWS OF CONGRESS POLITICIANS: WE HAVE TALKED TO FOUR
PROMINENT CONGRESS MP'S SINCE EMERGENCY DECLARED. ALL
EXPRESS COMPLETE CONFIDENCE MRS. GANDHI WILL END THE
EMERGENCY AND HOLD ELECTIONS (A CONGRESS MP TO WHOM A
U.K. HICOM OFFICER SPOKE, ON THE OTHER HAND, SAID HE BELIEVED
THE PM WOULD NEVER GO BACK TO FREE ELECTIONS). THEY
DIFFER ON TIMING, SOME SUGGESTING THAT EMERGENCY WILL
LAST NO MORE THAN 2-3 MONTHS, OTHERS SIX MONTHS AS THE
MAXIMU. SIMILARLY, SOME THINK THE ELECTIONS WILL BE
HELD ON SCHEDULE AT THE END OF THIS YEAR, OTHERS THAT THEY
MAY POSSIBLY BE POSTPONED TILL LATE IN 1976 TO GIVE THE
PM AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW REAL PROGRESS IN SOCIAL/ECONOMIC
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REFORMS. ALL THE MP'S INSIST THE OPPOSITION LEADERS
WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED WILL BE RELEASED IN TIME, BUT
THEY MAY HAVE TO STAY IN JAIL FOR A FEW MONTHS.

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2. MRS. GANDHI ASKED MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARLIA-
MENTARY PARTY EXECUTIVE YESTERDAY (ACCORDING TO AN MP
WHO WAS AT THE MEETING) TO SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES TO
REVITALIZE THE CONGRESS PARTY AT THE GRASS ROOTS AND IN
EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENTING OLD CONRWESS ECONOMIC PROGRAMS
AND FORMULATING NEW ONES. SHE ASSURED THE MP'S THERE
WOULD BE NO RPT NO FURTHER NATIONALIZATIONS. ANOTHER
MP, HOWEVER, CLAIMS THAT THE GOVT WILL NATIONALIZE
THE SUGAR REFINING INDUSTRY AND POSSIBLY ELEMENTS OF THE
COTTON AND JUTE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY. HE AGREED THAT
THE GOVT WOULD NOT NATIONALIZE ANY FOREIGN-INVOLVED
INDUSTRIES SUCH AS PHARMACEUTICALS. THE LATTER MP ALSO
THOUGHT MRS. GANDHI WOULD PROBABLY NATIONALIZE SOME
CATEGORIES OF URBAN LAND. OTHER SOURCES TELL US THEY
HEAR THE GOVT WILL DO SOMETHING TO CONTROL OR REDUCE
RURAL INDEBTEDNESS, PERHAPS FOCUSING ON RURAL MONEYLENDERS

3. WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE COUNTRY? A GUJARAT MP TELLS
US THREE DISTRICTS IN GUJARAT ARE UNDER CURFEW. THE GOI'S
PRINCIPAL INFO OFFICER (PIO) TOLD THE PRESS LATE JUNE 26
THAT THERE HAD BEEN
SOME "HOOLIGANISM" IN AHMEDABAD AND
THE POLICE HAD FIRED TEAR GAS. (WE CANNOT CONFIRM RADIO
AUSTRALIA REPORT THAT SEVEN WERE KILLED IN POLICE FIRING
IN AHMEDABAD.) DEMONSTRATIONS WERE ALSO REPORTED BY HIM
IN MEHSANA (GUJARAT), KARNAL (HARYANA), BOMBAY AND POONA
(MAHARASHTRA), TRIVANDRUM (KERALA) TO PROTEST AGAINST THE
EMERGENCY DECREE. AN ATTEMPTED GENERAL STRIKE IN BIHAR
WAS ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE FIZZLED. WE LEARN FROM AN
EMBASSY FSL WITH RELATIVES IN SOUTH INDIA THAT THERE WAS
A TOTAL STRIKE IN UDIPI AND MANGALORE IN KARNATAKA LAST
NIGHT. THERE WERE REPORTEDLY ALSO DEMONSTRATIONS
DISPERSED BY THE POLICE JUNE 26 IN AMRITSAR (PUNJAB)
AND ROHTAK AND KARNAL (HARYANA). AIR REPORTS AN UN-
SUCCESSFUL GENERAL STRIKE CALL IN BOMBAY JUNE 27.
ACCORDING TO RELIABLE BRITISH SOURCES, THERE ARE
PRESENTLY CURFEWS IN EFFECT IN AHMEDABAD AND INDORE AND
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RAIPUR (MP).

4. WE HAVE SEEN THE PIO'S FIGURE OF 676 ARRESTS THROUGH-
OUT THE COUNTRY ISSUED LAST NIGHT (MADHYA PRADESH--450,
DELHI--90, PUNJAB--9, BIHAR--24, RAJESTHAN--12,
KARNATAKA--4, ANDHRA--2, AND UP--2). WE THINK THESE
FIGURES ARE INDICATIVE BUT PROBABLY NOT ACCURATE TODAY,
EVEN ASSUMING THEY WERE RELIABLE JUNE 26. THE LARGE
FIGURE FOR MADHYA PRADESH IS ALMOST CERTAINLY ATTRI-
BUTABLE TO LARGE-SCALE POLICE ROUNDUP OF MIDDLE-LEVEL
JANA SANGH CADRES IN THE HEAVILY JANA SANGH TOWNS OF
WESTERN MP. WE HAVE HEARD REPORTS THAT NUMBERS OF
MIDDLE-LEVEL "OPPOSITION" CADRES HAVE GONE "UNDERGROUND,"

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INCLUDING JANA SANGHA, BLD, AND--JUST BEGINNING--DMK CADRES WHO ARE FEARFUL ACTION WILL SOON BE TAKEN AGAINST THEIR RULING TAMILNAD PARTY. THE DMK EXECUTIVE JUNE 27 CONDEMNED THE GOI FOR IMPOSING THE EMERGENCY AND URGED RELEASE OF ALL ARRESTED POLITICIANS AND AN END TO CENSORSHIP AND THE EMERGENCY. AT THE SAME TIME THE DMK CHIEF MINISTER ANNOUNCED HE WOULD IMPLEMENT ALL CENTRAL DIRECTIVES CONGEN CALCUTTA HAS HEARD RUMORS THAT SOME CP(M) LEADERS ARE GOING UNDERGROUND BUT CANNOT VERIFY THESE. CALCUTTA ITSELF IS STILL QUIET. WE HEAR THAT THE SOCIALIST MP'S MADHU LAIMAYE AND GEORGE FERNANDES HAVE GONE "UNDERGROUND" AS HAS CONGRESS DISSIDENT MP MOHAN DHARIA. JANA SANGH MP SUBRAMANIAM SWUIA HAS BEEN ARRESTED IN TAMILAND.

5. GOI MINISTERS AND OTHER OFFICIAL REACTION: ALL-INDIA RADIO AND THE PRESS WHICH PUBLISHED IN CALCUTTA (NO ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PAPERS PUBLISHED JUNE 27 IN NEW DELHI) DESCRIBE A LONG SERIES OF CONGRATULATORY AND SUPPORTING MESSAGES AND PETITIONS FROM STATE CHIEF MINISTERS AND CONGRESS MP'S. DEFMIN DLGJ CAN RAM HAS REMAINED SILENT AND DECLINED TO TALK TO NEWSMEN OR OTHERS. FONMIN CHAVAN IS (ACCORDING TO A CONGRESS MP SOURCE) ENERGETICALLY EXPRESSING HIS SUPPORT FOR MRS. GANDHI TO EVERYONE WHO ASKS HIM. PLANNING COMMISSION VICE CHAIRMAN P.N. HAKSAR IS REPORTEDLY GOING TO RESIGN (OR HAS ALREADY RESIGNED--DEPENDING ON WHICH SOURCE ONE CITES) AND MAY BE GOING TO MOSCOW AS INDIAN AMBASSADOR. WE HAVE HEARD FROM AN CONFIDENTIAL

EXCELLENT SOURCE THAT HAKSAR HAS BEEN ON "VACATION" IN SIMLA FOR THE LAST TEN DAYS, BUT WAS AMONG THOSE WHO ADVISED MRS. GANDHI TO RESIGN BEFORE HE LEFT. AS A RESULT HE IS WELL OUT OF FAVOR, AND THOSE OF HIS "GROUP" IN THE CIVIL SERVICE ARE ALSO OUT OF FAVOR. (ACCORDING TO A SOURCE IN THE PM'S HOUSEHOLD ENTOURAGE, THIS WAS E KEY REASON FOR THE SUDDEN TRANSFER OF HOME SECRETARY MUKERJEE TO CIVIL AVIATION AND TOURISM AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS WEEK.) THE NAMES MOST COMMONLY HEARD AS THE KEY FIGURES BEHIND MRS. GANDHI AT THIS POINT ARE HER SON, SANJAY GANDHI AND HER SECRETARY, DHAWAN. THIS IS CON-FIRMED BY A SOURCE CLOSE TO THE PM'S HOUSEHOLD. BOTH ARE NON-IDEOLOGICAL, EXTREMELY AUTHORITARIAN IN THEIR GENERAL APPROACH, AND FOCUSED ONLY ON KEEPING MRS. GANDHI IN POWER.

6. THE PM'S LAWYER IN THE SUPREME COURT ELECTION PETITION APPEAL, TATA DIRECTOR NANI PALIKIWALA, RESIGNED FROM THE CASE LATE ON JUNE 26 AND ADDITIONAL SOLICITOR GENERAL OF INDIA F.S. NARIMAN RESIGNED HIS POST JUNE 27. (THIS LATTER REPORT, ORIGINALLY CARRIED ON THE PTI WIRE WAS IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN FROM USE AT THE INSTANCE OF THE

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CENSOR.)

7. SECURITY: THE DAO IS SUBMITTING A SEPARATE REPORT ON THE MILITARY SITUATION. WE HEAR FROM ONE SOURCE THAT MRS. GANDHI CALLED THE THREE SERVICE CHIEFS TO HER RESIDENCE (UNHEARD OF PREVIOUSLY) LAST NIGHT. ANOTHER BSF BATALLION APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED TO NEW DELHI.

8. PRESS: ONE HINDI (COMMUNIST) AND ONE URDU NEWSPAPER WERE PUBLISHED IN DELHI TODAY. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PAPERS PUBLISHED IN CALCUTTA AND MADRAS WERE HEAVILY CENSORED. WE UNDERSTAND THE JANA SANGH DAILY MOTHERLAND IN DELHI REFUSED TO SUBMIT TO CENSORSHIP AND HAS BEEN SEALED. POWER FOR THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PAPERS IN DELHI HAS BEEN CUT OFF SINCE MID-DAY JUNE 26 AND THIS IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE UNTIL AT LEAST JUNE 29. THE GOI HAS APPOINTED TWO OFFICERS TO CONTROL CENSORSHIP: PRINCIPAL INFO OFFICER A.R. BAJI AND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS B.R. BOWRY, THE LATTER ALREADY BEING ATTACHED TO MRS.
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GANDHI AS A PRESS RELATIONS OFFICER.
SAXBE
UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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